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On June 13, 1964, CLARENCE JONES contacted OSSIE DAVIS and stated that "in reflecting on today's conference, the most important thing discussed was MALCOLM X's idea that we internationalize the question of civil rights and bring it before the UN." JONES stated he thought that MALCOLM X had the best idea of all those discussed at the conference on the question of the civil rights movement in the United States today. According to OSSIE DAVIS, MALCOLM X's idea is to bring the Negro question before the UN to internationalize the whole question and bring it before the whole world (u)

JONES stated that "we should present the plight of the Negro to the United Nations General Assembly in September of this year." X (u)

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OSSIE DAVIS said "This time we won't make the same mistake WILLIAM PATTERSON made 10 years ago." According to JONES, MALCOLM X should "assume the responsibility of making the foreign arrangements as he's been there."

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DC [redacted] contacted MALCOLM X on October 29, 1964, at New York. [redacted] told MALCOLM X how much he liked his comments on the statement of principal on Afro-American unity and commented that this would change the political power status. [redacted] asked MALCOLM X to send him a printed copy of the statement [redacted] remarked that he planned to write to the "New York Times" concerning this matter and considered doing an article. [redacted] then mentioned that many civil rights people are not aware of what MALCOLM X is trying to do.

b7C [redacted] offered all of his services to MALCOLM X. MALCOLM X stated [redacted] that his recent meeting had been taped [redacted] suggested that it should be transcribed and printed. [redacted] offered to get MALCOLM X's speeches printed at no cost to him.

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The Washington Committee for Democratic Action, the American Youth Congress, and the National Negro Congress have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Freedomways" is contained in the Appendix section of this report.

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VIII. FOREIGN TRAVEL OF MALCOLM X

To Africa, April 13, 1964
through May 21, 1964

On May 21, 1964, Supervisor JOHN ADAMS, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), John F. Kennedy (JFK) International Airport, New York, advised that MALCOLM X. LITTLE, Passport Number C294275, using the name MALIK EL SHABAZZ arrived in the United States at 4:25 p.m., aboard Pan American flight 115 from Paris, France.

67 On July 13, 1964, [REDACTED] furnished an itinerary of MALCOLM X during his trip to Africa which indicated the following schedule:

April 13, 1964	He departed the United States for Cairo, Egypt.
April 14 to May 5, 1964	In Cairo, United Arab Republic, Beirut, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia, where he completed pilgrimage to Mecca.
May 6, 1964	In Lagos, Nigeria.
May 8, 1964	In Ibadan, Nigeria.
May 10, 1964	In Accra, Ghana.
May 18, 1964	Morocco.
May 19, 1964	In Algiers.
May 21, 1964	Returned to the United States.

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At Ibadan, Nigeria;

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[REDACTED] made available on May 27, 1964
a copy of the newspaper "Pilot" datelined Ibadan, Nigeria, dated May 8, 1964, contained an article of an interview with MALCOLM X. According to this article MALCOLM X stated "United States Peace Corps are spies. They are missionaries of neo-colonialism and although white American Peace Corps were dangerous, enough to invoke protest from any country they were operating, Negro American Peace Corps were more dangerous and objectional." This article also stated that MALCOLM X remarked that the "Negroes in Peace Corps were being used by the American Government to place a wedge between American Negroes and Africans with views towards concept of Africianization of Negroes".

MALCOLM X added "Peace Corps has been instructed to present such a repugnant image of American Negroes to the extent that Africans would be compelled to be unsympathetic to Negro causes in America."

MALCOLM X arrived in Ibadan, Nigeria on May 8, 1964. He visited the university of Ibadan where he spoke before an audience of from 400 to 500 persons sponsored by the National Union of Nigerian Students. Excerpts from MALCOLM's speech are as follows:

"Our little chat will be informal. I speak for those Negro Americans who have been oppressed for 400 years and are still oppressed today in 1964. The American propagandists have tried to tell you that American Negroes are not interested in Africa and Africans are not interested in American Negroes.

(u) all ID per state
letter 12/18/86

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"Many of you who think the black man has been emancipated in America, just go there and visit without your national costume and you will be subject to unheard of indignities. Don't misunderstand me, I'm not here to condemn America.

"The black man has been so victimized in America that we don't even like each other. We have lost our self-respect. Even if a Negro graduates from Yale, Harvard or Columbia, he don't know who he is. He has been trained to ignore who he is. He has been taught that he has no cultural background. He has not been educated. He has been trained like a dog. They have killed us morally. They have made drunkards out of us, they have made drug addicts out of us.

"Three people are responsible for the Negro loss of identity; the slave trader, the slave master and the slave maker, etc. The government of the United States is a government of the white people by the white people and for the benefit of the white people".

MALCOLM further stated that "if the Americans are so opposed to the African Americans having their freedom and civil rights why are they doing so much to help the African nations by sending money, technicians and Peace Corps volunteers here?"

MALCOLM responded "I should think the answer to that question is obvious from the conditions described in it. They have the same thing in mind. Remember, the white man is the greatest hate teacher who ever walked the face of the earth."

(u) all P per state
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[REDACTED] advised on May 27, 1964 that the reactions on the campus of the university on MALCOLM's speech was mixed. According to a South African cape professor who condemned the performance as being worse than that of "Verwoerd" (Prime Minister HENDRIK F. VERWOERD of South Africa) and that those attending became highly inflamed by the vitrol which was the worst that had been seen during the professor's nine years on the campus of the University of Ibadan.

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[REDACTED] made available information taken from the Nigerian "Daily Express", dated May 11, 1964 which carried the report of an exclusive interview with MALCOLM X held in Ibadan, Western Nigeria in which "the black Muslim leader reportedly called on all 'African countries' to take a firm stand against the human rights violation of the 22 million Negroes in the United States in the same way as they would in the case of South Africa"

(S)W
According to the interview "Malcolm X also urged African states to bring the problem of black Negroes in the United States to the notice of the United Nations in the same way as the African states would in the case of Mongolia and South Africa. X (S)W

"Malcolm X said his movement was determined to change the image of Negroes in the United States to a positive one with a view to restoring 'our cultural identity and building up communication and understanding of black Muslims in the United States and African countries' X (S)W

"Malcolm X said he wanted to establish a Black Peace corps which would carry black culture to all African nations". X (S)W

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(W) all R per state letter 12/19/64

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"Malcolm X denied that he had described members of the peace corps in Nigeria as spies but admitted that they were 'missionaries of old who are paving the way for neo-colonialism'". (S)(u)

At Accra, Ghana

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[REDACTED] advised on June 11, 1964 that MALCOLM X arrived in Accra, Ghana on May 11, 1964. He was not officially invited to Ghana by the Ghanaian Government but came at the invitation of the "Marxist Forum", a new student organization in the University of Ghana. He did not have an interview with President NKRUMAH nor did the government hold any official reception for him. (S)(u)

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During his visit, MALCOLM spoke to the Association of Ghanaian Journalists and gave a lecture at the University of Ghana entitled "Will Africa Ignite America's Racial Powder Keg?". He also spoke before the students of Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute and to an informal group of Parliament members. (S)(u)

MALCOLM emphasized the following basic themes during his tour to Ghana. (S)(u)

1. The Negroes were stolen from Africa and forced to forget their culture and traditions, yet they never have been accepted into American society. (S)(u)

2. The Christian religion has been used to oppress Negroes and encourage them to accept an inferior position.

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3. Force is the only possible way to achieve equality. ~~X~~

4. The United States is the "master of imperialism" without whose support other imperialistic nations could not exist. ~~X~~

5. White America is guilty of dehumanizing the American Negro and putting him to death as a human being. ~~X~~

6. If America is not interested in human rights in America, how can she be interested in human rights in Africa? The American Government should not send the Peace Corps to Africa, they should send them to Mississippi and Alabama. ~~X~~

7. The only difference between apathy in South Africa and racism in the United States is that "while South Africa preaches and practices segregation, the United States preaches integration and practices segregation." ~~X~~

~~X~~ per state
12/18/84

At a press conference held on May 21, 1964, at the Hotel Theresa at New York City, MALCOLM X, who had just returned from a tour to Africa, stated that he had been in contact with many leaders in Africa and that he hopes to receive some support from some of the leaders of the various countries in Africa. He stated that he is still a Muslim but was not working with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

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The New York "Herald Tribune", local New York City newspaper, dated May 22, 1964, contained an article captioned "Malcolm X Objective - African Aid for Negroes". This article stated:

"Malcolm X, who seceded from the Black Muslims to organize his own black nationalist movement, said yesterday he will try to bring the numerous Negro civil rights groups of the nation into a united front in an effort to win support in the United Nations from the African nations.

"In a press conference at the Hotel Theresa, 125th St. and Seventh Ave., he said he would soon call a private meeting, 'secret if necessary', of various Negro leaders to form a single civil rights organization.

"The ultimate purpose, he explained, is to bring 'the plight of Afro-American Negroes' before the United Nations.

"He said leaders of African nations he had talked to told him they would help the civil rights movement in America if the Negroes here 'form a single group, no matter how loosely'. He recently returned from a trip to Africa.

"As the best method of winning recognition for American Negroes, he said: 'We'll try one method. If that doesn't work, then we'll try another. And if that doesn't work, then we'll try another, that's all.'

"He refused to elaborate or explain what 'that's all' meant."

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The New York "Amsterdam News", local New York Negro newspaper, dated May 23, 1964, contained an article captioned "Is Mecca Trip Changing Malcolm X?". This article in part states:

"Has the visit of Malcolm X, now El Hajj Malik El Shabbazz, to Mecca and with Muslim leaders in Africa changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious?

"This is the feeling of this reporter following receipt of a newsletter this week from Nigeria in which Malcolm, who is due to return to New York next week, said that he was being received with warm hospitality throughout Africa where he said 'they love us as their long - lost brothers.'

"Asserting that his trip to Mecca had officially established his new religious Muslim Mosque, Inc., at the Hotel Theresa, Malcolm said his trip had also established that Africans are interested in the plight of the nation's 22 million African Americans.

"A possible clue to Malcolm's suspected change in his militant racial attitudes was seen in a newsletter received this week by the Amsterdam News.

"As far as the Muslims of Asia, Arabia, and even Europe, are concerned, in regards to the plight of the 22 million African-Americans, the Koran compels all people who accept the Islam religion to take a firm stand on the side of anyone whose human rights are being violated, no matter what the religious persuasion of the victims may be.

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"Fresh from a visit to the Muslim holy city of Mecca and a tour of several African nations, Malcolm X is scheduled to return to New York Thursday afternoon, May 21, to launch a drive urging closer ties between American Negroes and Africans.

"Malcolm hinted his new philosophy in a letter to the Amsterdam News in which he said that 'We can learn much from the strategy used by the American Jews. They have never migrated physically to Israel, yet their cultural, philosophical and psychological ties to Israel has enhanced their political, economic and social position right there in America.

"'Pan Africanism will do for people of African decent all over the world the same that Zionism has done for Jews all over the world,' Malcolm wrote.

"Malcolm's letters to this newspaper during his almost two months in Africa indicate something of a change in his position to work for closer ties with civil rights leaders and a lessening of his anti-white attitudes. During his visit to Mecca he was the guest of the government for 12 days and was treated as a dignitary in most of the places he traveled, his letters asserted."

On May 23, 1964, MALCOLM X appeared on "Kup's Show", channel 7-TV, Chicago, Illinois. On the panel show he was asked if he was able to get into Mecca, a closed city by his own identification or did he have to pass some kind of test to prove that he was a Muslim.

MALCOLM said he arrived in Cairo about 3:00 in the morning and his inability to speak Arabic plus his American passport made him automatically suspect. So he was taken from the group that he originally started out from Cairo with and placed

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in a compound which has been built there in Jedda which houses all of the incoming pilgrims, and he thought about 90,000 came in this year by plane alone. He was put in this place and he had to admit he was worried because he couldn't communicate. And he stayed there about 20 hours and he was in a haram (phonetic) which is a two-piece towel outfit. Your waist from the belt downward is wrapped in one towel and from the waist upward in another. And after being in this particular plight for about 20 hours, he recalled that Dr. SCHWARBE (phonetic) from New York had given him a book that had been sent to him by ABDARAKMAN AZAM (phonetic). The name of the book is "The Eternal Message of Muhammad." And I recalled, so I called his son and after reaching his son, his son came to the place where he was and used his authority to get him released, get my passport. He took him to his home where he met AZAM PARSHA (phonetic), and he gave him his suite at the Jedda Palace Hotel and the next morning he was visited by the son of Prince FAISAL (phonetic), MUHAMMAD FAISAL (phonetic). He informed him that he was to be a state guest so that the remaining 12 days that he was in Arabia, he was a guest of state. They gave him a car -- they placed a car at his disposal, gave him a guide -- a mualam (phonetic), and a chauffeur and made it possible, after going before the highest committee of the court, for him to travel back and forth between Mecca and Jedda and Medina almost at will. He was given the highest honor and respect and hospitality that a visitor could receive anywhere.

Question:

"Outside of this honor and respect, did your religious beliefs as a former follower of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD qualify you as a Moslem by their standards? Are the two religions similar?"

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"Well, as I said, I went before the highest committee, the Grand Court, which passes on whether or not you can enter Mecca, and I know what the religion of Islam teaches and I answered the questions asked of me accordingly. And, in fact, the only qualification for entering Mecca is if you bear witness (here he recites some foreign words), which means I bear witness that there is no God but Allah and MUHAMMAD is his Apostle, plus other questions that I was asked. I had no trouble. Besides, Prince FAISAL had given me his Deputy Chief of Protocol who went with me before the Court and acted as my interpreter. So I had no trouble at all."

The New York "Amsterdam News" dated May 30, 1964, contained an article captioned "My Next Move - - 'Malcolm X an Exclusive Interview'". According to this article, MALCOLM X is "asserting that most Negroes and Negro organizations 'have a very narrow approach to the whole race question', Malcolm will shortly launch a new national organization to work in the political, economic, and social areas in the struggle for Negro advancement."

"We hope within the next eight days to make known the aims and objectives of this organization which will be open for the participation of all Negroes, and we will be willing to accept the support of people of all races." Malcolm told the Amsterdam News in an exclusive interview.

"Fresh from a five-weeks trip to Africa, the black nationalist leader said the new organization would be a chance where Negroes can help themselves."

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"We don't want white people to think we need them, but if whites want to help, good. If they don't want to help, that's good too," he said.

"The first major objective of the new group, he asserted, would be to get the case of the American Negro before the United Nations this fall, indicating that during his travels in Africa he received strong encouragements that this was highly possible.

"During my travels I told Africans that they could not justify their indictments of racism in South Africa and Angola and at the same time keep a closed mouth to situations against the 22 million black Americans," Malcolm said.

"He stated that his trip had helped him to become more aware that most Negro organizations and leaders see the race problem only in the scope of their own organizations and individual selfs. This new organization intends to make it possible for Negroes to form one solid front," the former Black Muslim leader declared.

"Regarding his future, Malcolm said he would work on formation of the new organization for the time being.

"He blasted back at officials who have sought to link him with the so-called 'blood brothers' asserting that 'these officials should be worrying about the crooks roaming their boroughs. If they can indict me through their statements, perhaps we need some blood brothers.'"

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On [REDACTED] 1964, [REDACTED] furnished a copy of a letter written by MALCOLM X from Jedda, Saudi Arabia, dated April 20, 1964, which stated that during his pilgrimage to Mecca, he observed many white persons who displayed the spirit of unity and brotherhood that he did not believe could ever have existed based on his previous American experience. He stated that America needs to understand Islam because it is the one religion that erases the race problem from society. He also stated that if whites and non-whites would accept Islam, they would become changed people since it removes racism, and all members thus automatically accept each other as brothers and sisters. He went on in the letter to state "you may be shocked at these words coming from me" and he added that his pilgrimage has taught him that if Islam can replace the spirit of true brotherhood in the hearts of whites, he has met there, it can also remove the "cancer of racism" from the heart of white America.

Travel to Africa from July 9, 1964 to November 14, 1964

On July 6, 1964, MALCOLM X using the name HAJJ MALIK EL SHADAZZ with Passport number C294275, purchased a one way ticket to Cairo, Egypt via London, England. He was scheduled to depart from JFK International Airport, New York, on July 9, 1964, aboard Trans World Airlines (TWA) flight 700, due to arrive in London, England, 7:30 a.m., July 10, 1964. He was scheduled to depart London, England, 3:30 p.m., July 1, 1964, aboard United Arab Airlines, flight 790 to Cairo, Egypt. MALCOLM failed to make return reservations or airline bookings when he arrived in Cairo for his return trip to the United States.

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b7D MALCOLM stated he would be in Africa for approximately five weeks. While in London he was scheduled to meet with an unknown representative of the Islamic Center of London. While in Cairo he is to meet with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is alleged to be the son of [REDACTED] the head of the Islamic Center in New York.

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D On July 9, 1964, [REDACTED] JFK International Airport, New York, advised that MALCOLM X departed at 8:00 p.m., July 9, 1964, aboard TWA flight 700 for London, England, ultimately destined to Cairo, Egypt.

The "New York Times", dated July 10, 1964, contained an article on MALCOLM X's departure which indicated he intended to be an observer in Cairo at the meeting of 33 African nations belonging to the organization of African Unity. According to the article, MALCOLM planned to lobby to get these leaders to take the question of the treatment of Negroes in America to the United Nations. He also planned another trip to Mecca and intended to obtain Muslim religious support in his quarrel with the Nation of Islam.

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[redacted] advised that the ticket and expenses for MALCOLM X's trip to Africa " being paid for by an unidentified person in Cairo.

On [redacted] 1964, [redacted] advise that it is believed that the sister of MALCOLM X in Boston, Massachusetts, ELLA COLLINS, a former NOI member, has furnished money to MALCOLM X for his trip to Africa.

Malcolm X - 1964
The "New York News", a local New York daily newspaper, dated July 12, 1964, contained an article captioned "Malcolm X on to Cairo". This article, datelined London, July 11, stated "Malcolm X left here by air for Cairo today to attend a meeting of the organization for African unity as an observer .

"Speaking to our reporters at the airport the extremist American Negro leader called for the Negro problem in the United States to be brought before the United Nations.

"He arrived here from the United States yesterday. He said that during his 24 hour stay here 'I have had talks with African and other Muslims all of whom realize that our problem in America is serious enough for it to be brought before the United Nations.

"And if the United States problem cannot be considered because it is a domestic matter then neither should South Africa nor Angolia".

An article in the "New York World Telegram and Sun", local New York newspaper, dated July 10, 1964, captioned "Malcolm X Flies to African Parlay". This article stated that "Malcolm X, the former black Muslim official who has formed his own Negro nationalist organization was on his way to Egypt today as a self-appointed spokesman for America's 22 million Negroes.

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"MALCOLM, who recently announced the formation of the organization of African American Unity and appointed himself Chairman, said at Kennedy Airport last night that he will attend a conference on the organization of African nations in Cairo as an "unofficial observer".

At Cairo, Egypt

The "New York Times", dated July 14, 1964, captioned "Malcolm X in Cairo Says He'll See African Leaders". This article datelined Cairo, July 13, states "Malcolm X the black nationalist leader said today that he had come to attend a meeting of the council of ministers of the Organization of African Unity as an observer. He arrived yesterday.

"He said he intended to acquaint African heads of state 'with the true plight of America's Negroes and thus show them how our situation is as much a violation of the United Nations human rights charter as the situation in Africa and Mongolia".

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It is to be noted that the 1964 New York Telephone Directory reflects that telephone number MU 4-5250 is listed to the Zanzibar Mission to the United Nations at 330 East 33rd Street, New York City.

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The "New York Journal American", dated August 5, 1964, contained an article captioned "Malcolm X and the Red Chinese" written by VICTOR RIESEL. This article datelined Cairo stated that:

"Malcolm X, whom the Chinese Communists call the 'chairman of the Afro-American unity organization,' spent a considerable amount of his time in the presence of international Communist propagandists here.

"Not only did he endorse the rioting back home, but he publicly called for retaliation against the white community. He said the time had come to meet 'violence with violence; an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.'

"He prepared a series of inflammatory anti-U.S. documents here on the pretext of presenting them to the recent meeting of the Organization of African Unity, and it was reported across the world that he attended the conference. This is nonsense. He did not get near the parley. He was not accredited to it.

"Malcolm X was not at any of the conference sessions. I was informed that it 'is ridiculous' and 'undignified' to think for a moment that anyone such as Malcolm X would be heard by the African counterpart of the Organization of American States.

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"Malcolm X's activity here was strictly a propaganda operation which he set up at the Hotel Semiramis, where some newsmen gathered. He made certain that his violent anti-U.S. diatribes were put in the hands of the Chinese Communist correspondents planted here by the New China News Agency.

"But when Malcolm X wanted to be with his pro-Communist friends he came over to the Hotel Omar Khayam, a former palace. I vouch for this personally. I was there when he met Mrs. Shirley Graham DuBois, widow of the late Dr. W. E. DuBois, in the lobby. When the aged Dr. DuBois died recently, he was a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A. and had switched his citizenship to Ghana.

"Hotel Omar Khayam was also the headquarters of the violently anti-U.S., pro-Communist Ghanaian delegation to the African States' conference. On Thursday, July 16 Malcolm X and his frequent companion, Mrs. DuBois, met for hours in the garden restaurant of the hotel.

"Mrs. DuBois and her late husband spent much time in Peking. They were frequent guests of Mao-Tse-tung. Dr. DuBois delivered many anti-U.S. speeches which were broadcast across the world by the powerful Chinese mainland radio.

"Mrs. DuBois has long been active in world Communist circles. Her background is important here to show the strange inter-weaving of characters now attempting to infiltrate and agitate the Negro communities of the U.S.

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"Mrs. DuBois knew the Castro brothers, Fidel and Raoul, in Mexico as far back as the late '40s. She now is associated with the pro-Communist 'Freedomways', a publication allegedly devoted to the Negroes.

"In the past few years she has been a prolific writer in defense of the pro-Communist dictatorial state of Ghana.

"Intelligence agents of several countries now are eager to learn just how Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X made contact with such Communist activists as Mrs. DuBois. Of considerable interest is the source of Malcolm X's funds now that the Muslims under Elijah Muhammad have declared war on him.

"Malcolm X has been making expensive and extensive trips across Africa. I ran into his trail in several cities - especially in Ibadan, Nigeria, where he delivered speeches so anti-U.S. so incendiary, that they could be printed only on asbestos.

"It is also being noticed that the Chinese Communist broadcasts have been featuring him and his splinter sect.

"Why?"

MALCOLM X was in Cairo, Egypt on August 17, 1964.

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At Kuwait

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[REDACTED] Chief Security Branch,
Legal Division, Passport Office, Department of
State, Washington, D. C., on September 30, 1964,
advised SA [REDACTED] that MALCOLM LITTLE
called the United States Embassy at Kuwait on
September 29, 1964, in order to obtain a health
certificate which he states was lost in Saudi
Arabia. This certificate was issued to MALCOLM X
and he departed from Kuwait on September 29,
1964, for a one day trip to Khartoum. He was
then to proceed to Ethiopia for several days.

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[At Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika.] (S)(u)

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[REDACTED] advised on October 12, 1964 that MALCOLM X arrived at "DAR" (Dar-es-Salaam) the weekend of October 10 and 11, 1964, and gave an exclusive interview to (Arab) nationalists. (S)(u)

His main points under headlines "Malcolm X Raps USA" was that the American State Department is creating Negro leaders with the object of holding Negroes down. He said it is important to sort out genuine leaders from others. MALCOLM said Africans should take a more definite line and not allow itself to be bullied. America needs Africa more than Africa needs America stated MALCOLM X. He said he does not intend to return to the United States until after the election because he does not wish to become involved as his presence in America at election time might cause demonstrations beneficial to (Senator) GOLDWATER. On the other hand, he stated any comments he might make will not help (President) JOHNSON. MALCOLM said the choice is only between the lesser of two evils. He said he came to "URTZ" following a visit to South Africa, Kuwait and Ethiopia. He said he was on a world tour to explain the "inside story" of Negro problems in the United States. He said he hopes to meet with URTZ officials and will visit Kenya and Ethiopia before departing for West Africa. (S)(u)

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It was learned that MALCOLM X visited Zanzibar prior to his visit to Dar-es-Salaam. (S)(u)

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[REDACTED] on October 13, 1964, also made available information from the Dar-es-Salaam newspaper "Standard", dated October 13, 1964, which contained an article on MALCOLM's visit as mentioned above. This article states that according to MALCOLM X "American Negroes are beginning to see their relationship to Africa is something which cannot be denied. They realized now that we are all the same. The right type of Negro can make a great contribution to Africa but the type that is being sent here now by the American Government is not designed to make contributions to things African. They are designed to create an image that will make Africans feel repulsive. It is my contention that they make African aid American Negroes. I think American leaders are more afraid of Africanism than of Communism. A Communist can go to America and live where he likes, but an African can't"

Copy per state letter 12/18/84

At Ibadan, Nigeria

The "New York Journal American", dated July 25, 1964, contained an article written by VICTOR REISEL, captioned "Malcolm X Gives Africa Twisted Look". This article datelined Ibadan, Nigeria, states:

"I'm a long way from Harlem but not very far from Malcolm X and his Moslem Mosque, Inc. The effect of what he told university students in this city still reverberates in this land of 40 million people - good people, friendly people - eager to reach across the sea to us. But many of the young men and women in this town now, shudder when they think of us - for Malcolm X was here, brutalizing us, charging us with being a vast national torture chamber."

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"He so aroused students at the Ibadan University during a lecture here that they threw a university staff member off the platform when the latter attempted to defend the U.S.

"The least of what Malcolm shouted here was an ultimatum to the whites in America that they soon must face violence from his forces back home.

"He literally screamed that the whites had made the American Negroes 'drunkards and trained (them) to be hardened criminals, as the result of which American Negroes think of themselves as no more than above wild animals.'

"Knowing full well the hatred of the African for the African government of the Union of South Africa, Malcolm X then screamed:

"Racial discrimination in the U.S. is worse than apartheid in South Africa.'

"Then he endangered the lives of many American youngsters of all races, who are now teaching Africans in the veld, in the bush and in the Kraals and villages how to string electric lights, build schools, put in windows, and read their native language. Malcolm X did this by charging:

"The U.S. Peace Corps members are all espionage agents and have a special assignment to perform. They are spies of the American government, missionaries of colonialism and neo-colonialism.'

"From here he went to Winneba, Ghana, where he addressed the students at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, which is pro-Communist and where they hate us, anyway. There he said to hundreds of students that 'the only language the whites understand is force and nothing else.' He was cheered.

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"In other cities he got tougher. A cause is a cause, but trying to start an international racial war gets to be mighty dangerous."

The "New York Times", dated August 13, 1964, contained an article captioned "Malcolm X Seeks UN Negro Debate - - He Asks African States to Cite United States Over Rights". This article datelined Washington, August 12, states:

"The State Department and the Justice Department have begun to take an interest in Malcolm X's campaign to convince African states to raise the question of persecution of American Negroes at the United Nations.

"The Black Nationalist leader started his campaign July 17 in Cairo, where the 33 heads of independent African states held their second meeting since the Organization of African Unity was founded in Addis Ababa 14 months ago.

"Before leaving for Cairo, Malcolm told friends in New York that it was his intention to add a new dimension to the civil rights struggle in the United States. This, he said, could be achieved by 'internationalizing' the Negro question at the United Nations in the manner that South African apartheid was transferred into an international problem.

"Malcolm's eight-page memorandum to the heads of state at the Cairo conference requesting their support became available here, only recently. After studying it, officials said that if Malcolm succeeded in convincing just one African Government to bring up the charge at the United Nations the United States Government would be faced with a touchy problem.

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"The United States officials here believe, would find itself in the same category as South Africa, Hungary and other countries whose domestic politics have become debating issues at the United Nations. The issue, officials say, would be of service to critics of the United States, Communist and non-Communist, and contribute to the undermining of the position the United States has asserted, for itself as the leader of West in the advocacy of human rights.

"In a letter from Cairo to a friend Malcolm wrote:

"'I have gotten several promises of support in bringing our plight before the U. N. this year.'

"According to one diplomatic report, Malcolm had not met with success, but the report was not documented and officials here today conceded the possibility that Malcolm might have succeeded.

"Passages in Malcolm's memorandum indicated that he had encountered resistance to his idea.

"'Some African leaders at this conference', he said in his memorandum, 'have implied that they have enough problems here on the mother continent without adding the Afro-American problem.

"'With all due respect to your esteemed positions, I must remind all of you that the good shepherd will leave 99 sheep at home to go to the aid of the one who is lost and has fallen into the hands of the imperialist wolf.

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"'We, in America, are your long lost brothers and sisters, and I am here to remind you that our problems are your problems.' The memorandum continued:

"'The American Government is either unable or unwilling to protect the lives and property of your 22 million African-American brothers and sisters. We stand defenseless, at the mercy of American racists who murder us at will for no reason other than we are black and of African descent.

"'Our problems are your problems. We have lived for over 300 years in that American den of racist wolves in constant fear of losing life and limb.'

"'Malcolm also warned the heads of the African states that their countries would have no future unless the American Negro problem was solved. He said:

"'Your problems will never be fully solved until and unless ours are solved. You will never be fully respected until and unless we are also respected. You will never be recognized as free human beings until and unless we are also recognized and treated as human beings.'

"'Asserting that the Negro problem is not one of civil right but of human rights, Malcolm said:

"'If United States Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg a few weeks ago, could find legal grounds to threaten to bring Russia before the United Nations and charge her with violating the human rights of less than three million Russian Jews - what makes our African brothers hesitate to bring the United States Government before the United Nations and charge her with violating the human rights of 22 million African-Americans?

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"We pray that our African brothers have not freed themselves of European colonialism only to be overcome and held in check by American dollarism. Don't let American racism be "legalized" by American dollarism."

"Malcolm argued that 'if South African racism is not a domestic issue, then American racism also is not a domestic issue.'"

"The Black Nationalist, who quit the Chicago-based Black Muslim movement led by Elijah Muhammad to form his non-sectarian Organization of Afro-American Unity, said it was the intention of his group in coalition with other Negro groups 'to elevate our freedom struggle above the domestic level of civil rights.'"

At Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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[REDACTED] advised on 10-6-1964 that on 10-3-1964 MALCOLM X during a three day visit to Addis Ababa, addressed the open student assembly of the university college at the invitation of the University College Student Union. There was an estimated audience of 500 to 600 persons consisting primarily of Ethiopian students and others consisting of faculty members and outside visitors. X(U) per state letter 12/18/87

After a flattering and enthusiastic introduction by a student leader ("known throughout Africa as a man standing for principle, truth and justice") Malcolm X presented a rather surprisingly low-keyed lecture which stressed two major purposes of his safari in Africa: 1) to remain away from the US until after the election in order to avoid making the decision as to whether he (and presumably American Negroes in general) would be devoured by X(U) per state letter 12/18/87

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"a fox or a wolf"; and 2) to attempt to persuade the independent African nations to haul the US before the UN on charges of being "unable or unwilling" to give the American Negro his civil rights. X

Despite these stated goals the approach throughout the speech was to attack "criminal" and "racist" elements in the US while maintaining that there are a few well-meaning whites in the US. Repeated parallels were drawn between colonialism in Africa and in the US. Thus, another goal of Malcolm's visit was to permit direct contact between the black people of the US and of Africa which would off-set the efforts of "some in the American power structure" and the "racist element in Washington" to keep the two apart. Malcolm wants "mutual understanding" and "working unity" between the two. In developing this theme, all recent American moves in the field of civil rights were characterized as insincere tokenism growing out of fear of emerging Africa. At the same time, all American aid to Africa was similarly characterized as tokenism and neo-imperialism. The old colonialists "passed the ball to the racist element in the US", and the neo-imperialists of Washington were in Africa with a "soft" approach and an aid program designed not to help Africa, but to save imperialism. X

"The proof of American insincerity is that in 400 years they haven't helped the American Negro. How in the world can they come all the way over here and be so kind", stated MALCOLM X.

American Negroes who come to Africa are "well-chosen" not to embarrass the US, remarked MALCOLM X.

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Malcolm X's speech employed clever, distortions of truth to lead to distorted conclusions - e.g., when World War II started, the US was not taking Negroes into the Army or Navy for fear they would learn to use weapons against whites. The tone of the speech reflected Malcolm's assertion at the beginning that he had just concluded two months of "quiet rearrangement" of his "thinking" in Cairo. He was not nearly so emotional as he sometimes has been in the past, nor did he lay himself open to traps as often as he is sometimes prone to do.

The audience response was good with several interruptions for applause, particularly during his attacks on the United States' effort in Africa.

Following Malcolm's speech the student moderator felt compelled to note that of course African students don't believe that United States aid comes "out of human kindness". The four questions from the audience were rather bland, but did permit Malcolm to develop the theme that while Goldwater was a rather open racist, Johnson ("the fox") was more subtle, but that the latter's record during thirty years in Congress was also that of a racist. In discussing the coming election, he stated that the American people don't govern, that Southern-dominated congressional committees control under the seniority system and it is they "who send military equipment to Tshombe."

In answering the final question, he emphasized the relative unity between himself and such leaders as Martin Luther King, saying that their differences were primarily differences of method rather than goals. "The main difference is that he doesn't mind being beat up and I do."

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None of the local papers or radio stations carried any account of the speech and Malcolm's other activities in Addis Ababa appear to have been of a rather quiet nature. It is understood, however, that he did some quiet visiting in the American, Ethiopian and foreign communities, soft-selling his particular line. One British technician reported a "pleasant" conversation in a hotel bar; a high OAU official, (John Memboleo Onsando, Assistant Secretary General) also reported talking with him casually, but did not seem overly impressed.

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His future itinerary will carry him to Nairobi, Dar-es-Salaam, Uganda, Tanganyika, Guinea, Mali, Senegal, and back to Harlem.

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The "New Crusader", a weekly newspaper in Chicago, Illinois, dated October 17, 1964, contained an article captioned "Malcolm X Tells Africans 'No Hope in the United States for Race'". This article dated in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, states "the black Muslim leader Malcolm X stated here last Monday that America is morally incapable of solving the Negro problem or ever seeing the problem in the proper light.

"The 38 year old head of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., made the statement to the press on his departure from Addis Ababa, for Nairobi after a five day stay.

"Malcolm X said he hopes to take the problem to the United Nations with the help of independent African states.

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"Pessimistic about the chances of a peaceful solution, Malcolm X asserted there was no hope for the older generation. The only possibility he added is in the hands of the new generation of American whites.

"He denied that his organization advocated violence, insisting instead that most of the whites in America are the racists but he said every black man in America should have a rifle or a shotgun in his house to defend himself against attack as is guaranteed in the Constitution".

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[REDACTED] advised on 11-6-64 that MALCOLM X held "court" at the Ethiopian Hotel, Addis Ababa, 10-27-64. *(U) per state 12/18/86* MALCOLM had been talking about his experience in Nairobi. In substance, he stated that "you know everywhere in the world radio and TV programs cut off (have a station break) at 10:00, well the people at the TV station in Nairobi were so interested in what I was saying that they let the program go on until four minutes after ten". *(U) per state 12/18/86*

MALCOLM X said that among other things, he told the audience in Nairobi that three civil rights workers had been killed in Mississippi and nothing had been done about it. He added, "Fortunately, the TV program that was on just before I appeared, had something about dogs in it. So, during my talk, I had the opportunity to remind the viewers of the dogs they had just seen and told them that those were the kinds of dogs that the police in the United States were training to attack the Negroes." *(U) per state 12/18/86*

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According to MALCOLM X, there are a lot of American Negroes in Kenya. He said, "They ought to organize themselves into a pressure group so they can get some respect from the U.S. Government." He also said that the only unorganized group in Africa was the group of American Negroes who are living or working on this continent. He pointed out that the refugees from South Africa, Angola, and Mozambique were organized and they commanded respect.

When MALCOLM X made a speech at University College of Addis Ababa a few weeks ago during a prior visit to Ethiopia, he said that those American Negroes working in American Embassies have been chosen because they would not be likely to embarrass the United States Government. Unknown to him, there was an embassy officer in the audience during that speech.

On the occasion at the Ethiopia Hotel bar, MALCOLM X had apparently changed his tactics. He said, "Some Negroes have been able to get responsible jobs in the U.S. Government. But you must remember that it's because of 'irresponsible' people like me, that the 'responsible' ones get some of those jobs." He was taking credit for being a "necessary irritant" to bring about desirable results.

"I talked with Attwood in Nairobi," said MALCOLM X. He was referring to Ambassador WILLIAM ATTWOOD. Although he did not quote verbatim his conversation with Ambassador ATTWOOD, he indicated that he had expressed his displeasure to the Ambassador about an alleged effort on the part of the American Embassy there to prevent Americans from meeting with him (MALCOLM X). He added, "I know they sent word here that I was coming and they are trying to keep me from making any public speeches."

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The last argument that MALCOLM X put forth was "If the U.S. Government would do what it needs to do, there wouldn't be any need for me to say anything." He also remarked that when he was in Cairo sometime earlier, he had talked with fifteen African Ambassadors within two days. He added, "They were all 'pro us.'"

MALCOLM X said he was leaving for Lagos the following morning. Although he did not specifically mention it, there was some indication that he might also stop in Ghana. At no time did MALCOLM X comment on anything positive about the racial problem or progress in the United States. MALCOLM occasionally used "Afro-American" when referring to Negro Americans. He acted in a cordial and polite manner, but was completely negative in his arguments about the racial situation in the United States.

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[REDACTED] advised on 10-13-64 that MALCOLM X arrived in Nairobi over the weekend (October 10 and 11, 1964) and told local embassy employees on October 11, 1964, that he was going to Zanzibar. MALCOLM did not indicate his reason for making this trip.

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[REDACTED] advised on October 22, 1964 that MALCOLM X arrived in Nairobi, October 16, 1964, from Dar-es-Salaam. MALCOLM X attended Kenyatta Day Celebration and appeared prominently at social functions although he was not a guest of "GOK" (Government of Kenya).

MALCOLM appeared on VOK-TV, October 21, 1964, in a special interview during which he stated that "American voters had little choice between President JOHNSON and (Senator) GOLDWATER, as the former was a Southern segregationist and the latter was an anti-integration right winger, ("one was a wolf, the other a fox"). He called the Civil Rights Act of 1964 nothing but a calculated propaganda move by the United States to impress the people of Africa and Asia. MALCOLM stated that nothing had changed for the Negro since passage of the law, that in fact Negroes were being persecuted more vigorously than before. He also pointed out that African independence movements had given great impetus to the American Negroes struggle for freedom.

He said he and his followers intended to take up the plight of the American Negro with the United Nations, posing questions of human rights not civil rights as discrimination in the United States had become a world problem because it was obvious that America was incapable of coping with it. During his stay in Nairobi, MALCOLM stated he came to Kenya at the invitation of "certain government members" and according to MALCOLM X he had previously visited Nairobi on his way to Dar-es-Salaam and had been here "four or five days" secretly in order to contact government leaders without publicity. According to MALCOLM X, he had presented a plan to African leaders to condemn the United States in the United Nations for racism. African leaders he

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stated were sympathetic and he had convinced those who had been "misinformed". MALCOLM refused to disclose what "GOK" leaders he had talked to and was vague on any plans for a press interview.

MALCOLM said he planned to depart for Addis Ababa, October 24, 1964, for a four day visit and then go to Lagos, Accra, Conakry, Bamako and possibly Dakar and "definitely" Algiers

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[REDACTED] advised on 10-19-64 that the local press in Nairobi (not further identified) reported that MALCOLM X flew from Dar-es-Salaam to Kenya with African leaders KENYATTA and OBOTE on October 18, 1964. MALCOLM is quoted as saying that Americans will never voluntarily give American Negroes freedom until forced to and that as ministers they (Negroes) do not have the forces. According to MALCOLM, Africa has the key to the Negro problem solution and will determine the degrees of freedom because the African leaders hold the strategic power balance in world affairs. He said that part of his mission to Africa was to make (African) leaders aware of their position of power. He stated that American aid was not a favor to Africa because Africa contributed human flesh to the American economy. MALCOLM further stated that he was surprised at the support which African leaders have for the American Negro cause. According to MALCOLM they had all showed him unlimited concern and sympathy.

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MALCOLM X left Addis Ababa on October 19, 1964.

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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100-379321-215 page 124

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At Lagos, Nigeria

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[REDACTED] advised on 11-6-64 that MALCOLM X visited Lagos for the second time on October 29, 1964. He previously visited Lagos in May, 1964.

On his arrival on October 29, 1964, he held a press conference. MALCOLM X was quoted as saying that he was "touring Africa to better acquaint himself with the problems facing the continent so he could tell his people at home about these problems, factually and in detail." MALCOLM X said that "one of the greatest problems facing Africa was internal squabbling" and continued, "in East Africa it is the Africans against the Asians, and in West Africa, it is the Moslem against Christians and all these are feed by outside force".

At Conakry, French West Africa.

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[REDACTED] advised on 11-14-64 that MALCOLM X left Conakry by plane on November 13, 1964. He was "GOG guest" and carried a visitor's visa. He visited the hospital ship "SS Hope" twice accompanied by a GOG interpreter and took pictures. He was enthusiastic about "Project Hope", saying "it was the best United States project he had seen in Africa and especially commended integration aboard ship".

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Return to United States from African Tour on 11-24-64:

b7D [REDACTED] New York City, advised on November 24, 1964, that passenger manifest list of TWA flight 801, Paris, France, contained the name "SHABAZZ". This flight was scheduled to arrive at JFK International Airport, 6:00 p.m., November 24, 1964.

Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed MALCOLM X arriving JFK International Airport via TWA flight 801 from Paris, France, at 6:41 p.m., November 24, 1964.

At London, England, November 30,
1964 to December 6, 1964

b7D On November 27, 1964, [REDACTED] British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC), New York City, advised that MALCOLM LITTLE was scheduled to leave New York City via BOAC from JFK International Airport and to arrive in London, England, December 1, 1964. He further stated that MALCOLM LITTLE planned to return to the United States on December 6, 1964, [REDACTED]

b7D At a reception for MALCOLM X held on November 29, 1964, sponsored by the OAAU he remarked that he was travelling to London, England, on November 30, 1964, and would debate at Oxford, University, on December 1, 1964.

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Special Agents of the FBI on November 30, 1964, observed MALCOLM X boarding BOAC flight 506 which left JFK International Airport, New York, at 10:30 p.m., the same date for London, England. He travelled under the name MALCOLM X and was scheduled to arrive at London, England, December 1, 1964.

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Special Agents of the FBI on December 6, 1964, observed MALCOLM X arriving at JFK International Airport, New York, on BOAC flight 501 from London, England, 2:30 p.m.

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IX. ASSOCIATION WITH FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

At an open public rally sponsored by the MMI, held on June 7, 1964, MALCOLM X, as the main speaker, told of his recent tour of Africa and claimed that African countries had promised to take the American racial problem to the UN for a solution.

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b7C [redacted] that an individual identified only as [redacted] had been in contact with MALCOLM X while in Cairo, Egypt, [redacted] SU

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b7C [redacted] a known MMI member, at New York, stated on August 24, 1964, that he recently heard from MALCOLM X, who stated he received an offer of 20 scholarships which would be made available at Al Azhar University in Cairo, Egypt for the members of the MMI. [redacted] stated that all expenses, including travel, board, and tuition, would be paid for by an unknown individual in Cairo, Egypt.

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F. M. M. M. C. Inc.

[redacted] N.Y.

At an MMI meeting, held on September 9, 1964, in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, New York City, MMI Assistant [redacted] stated MALCOLM X had written while in Africa. The letter was addressed to an unknown African delegate to the Organization of African Unity Conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. In the letter, MALCOLM X stated that if the conference needed recruits to join the rebel military forces in the Congo, he could obtain 10,000 recruits in the Harlem section of New York City.

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Publication "Liberator" is characterized in Appendix hereto.
It is to be noted that 23-11 97th Street,
East Elmhurst, New York, is a single family
residence occupied by MALCOLM X.

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An article in the "New York Post," a New York daily newspaper, dated September 8, 1964, captioned "MALCOLM Sees Evil Choice at Polls," stated that "Former black muslim leader MALCOLM X used the upcoming Presidential election as a choice between two evils for Negro votes."

In his autobiography, (written by ALEXANDER HALEY) an excerpt of which appears in the "Saturday Evening Post" magazine, MALCOLM described President JOHNSON as the "wolf" and, while he refrains from endorsing either man, MALCOLM seems to think that GOLDWATER is the lesser of two evils.

b7D On September 4, 1964, [REDACTED] Rome, New York, furnished the following information to SA [REDACTED] N.Y.

b7D [REDACTED] stated that on September 1, 1964, he visited the office of ALEXANDER PALMER HALEY, a Negro writer and newspaper correspondent at 414 West Dominick Street, Rome, New York, on an official matter. According to [REDACTED] b7C HALEY advised he had just completed a book he had written concerning MALCOLM X LITTLE. [REDACTED]

HALEY indicated he had been in contact with MALCOLM X on more than one occasion in regard to this writing, and that he, HALEY, and MALCOLM are to share in the royalties expected from this book.

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b7D [REDACTED] Washington, DC, advised on June 26, 1964, that
MALCOLM X was seen observing the NAACP Convention held
on that date in Washington, DC.

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The complete authenticity of this information could
not be determined.

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X OPINION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

A. Re MALCOLM X

By letter dated September 2, 1964, J. WALTER YEAGLEY, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, Department of Justice advised that MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka MALCOLM X in the course of his recent tour of the Middle East and African countries, has reportedly been in communication and contact with heads of foreign governments urging that they take the issue of "racism" in America before the United Nations as a threat to world peace.

Mr. YEAGLEY indicated that since such activities could conceivably fall within the provisions of the Logan Act, and are moreover deemed to be inimical to the best interests of our country and prejudicial to our foreign policy, the Department of Justice requested the Secretary of State to make appropriate inquiries of our embassies in the Middle East and Africa for any pertinent information concerning MALCOLM X's alleged contacts and communications with heads of foreign governments.

Mr. YEAGLEY expressed concern over the fact that MALCOLM X's activities abroad indicates a possible violation of the Logan Act.

B. Re MMI

By letter dated September 28, 1964, Mr. YEAGLEY advised that if evidence is available which will establish the MMI has been or is receiving funds from any Arab or African government, or is acting at the order, request or under the direction of the foreign government, it may be obligated to register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

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APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principals." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

A second confidential source advised on October 20, 1964, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which is also headed by MALCOLM X.

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APPENDIX

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NATION OF ISLAM, formerly referred to as the Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam," (NOI) and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 8, 1964, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the NOI; Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960, MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD'S organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD'S teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~2.APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly
referred to as the Muslim
Cult of Islam, also known as
Muhammad's Temples of Islam

On May 7, 1964, a third source advised Muhammad had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

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1.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, MOSQUE #7,
NEW YORK CITY

On May 5, 1964, a source advised that the Nation of Islam (NOI) affiliate in New York City is known as Mosque #7, also known as Temple #7, and is located at 102 West 116th Street, New York City. Mosque #7 is part of the NOI headed by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, with headquarters in Chicago, Illinois. Mosque #7 has two branches; Mosque #7B at 105-03 Northern Boulevard, Queens, New York City, and Mosque #7C at 120 Madison Street, Brooklyn, New York. These branches are part of Mosque #7.

The date Mosque #7 originated in New York City is not known.

However, in connection with the origin of Mosque #7, it should be noted that in 1953 a second source advised that there was a Temple of the NOI (known to source then as the Muslim Cult of Islam) in New York City located at 135th Street and 7th Avenue, as far back as 1947.

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1.

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes of education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

On August 19, 1964, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU are located in MMI headquarters, Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 7th Avenue, New York City.

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~~SECRET~~

1.

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY,
PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT,
"PROGRESSIVE LABOR"

A source advised on July 2, 1962, that Progressive Labor groups held a conference in New York City on July 1, 1962, where MILTON ROSEN acted as chairman. He read a statement at this conference setting forth their intention to form a new Marxist-Leninist party in the United States. ROSEN stated that a more formal organization was necessary, one which would provide a frame-work for all who wanted to join in a united effort to build an American vanguard. The forces of this new organization are to consolidate all existing forces around Progressive Labor and organize additional forces; expand and improve political activities; win additional forces to an outlook of Marxism-Leninism and increase the open advocacy of socialism; develop a significant Marxist-Leninist program for the new party; and organize a collective organization of leaders and members.

"The Worker," an East Coast Communist newspaper, issue of January 7, 1962, Page Ten, Column Three, reported the expulsion of MILTON ROSEN, former Labor Secretary of the New York State Communist Party, from the Communist Party, United States of America.

A second and third source advised in February, 1963, that this new Marxist-Leninist party had not yet been organized on a formal basis, but that Progressive Labor groups had been formed in several localities in line with the proposals of MILTON ROSEN. The sources advised as of February, 1963, that the leaders of this group were referring to it as the Progressive Labor Movement.

A fourth source advised on March 15, 1964, that the Progressive Labor Movement follows, supports, and is politically orientated toward the Communist Party line of Red China rather than that of the Soviet Union.

A fifth source advised on March 28, 1964, that at a Progressive Labor Movement meeting held in New York City on that date, it was announced that the Progressive Labor

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2.

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY
PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT,
"PROGRESSIVE LABOR"

Movement would try to hold a national convention in New York City in September, 1964, to organize the Progressive Labor Movement on a more formal basis into a Progressive Labor Party.

The fifth source also advised that the Progressive Labor Movement publishes a monthly magazine called, "Progressive Labor" and also a quarterly theoretical publication called the "Marxist-Leninist Quarterly." The source also advised that starting June 1, 1964, the Progressive Labor Movement would start publishing a weekly newspaper in New York City.

The March, 1964, issue of "Progressive Labor" sets forth that it is published monthly by the Progressive Labor Company, General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York.

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1.

APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY -
NEW YORK LOCAL

A source stated on August 25, 1960, that the New York Local (NYL) of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was founded during 1938 in New York City.

A second confidential source stated on April 8, 1964, that the NYL was affiliated with and followed the aims and purposes of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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1.

APPENDIX

~~SECRET~~

FRUIT OF ISLAM

On May 8, 1964, a source advised that the Fruit of Islam (FOI) is a group within the Nation of Islam (NOI) composed of male members of the NOI. The purpose of the FOI is to protect officials and property of the NOI, assure compliance of members with NOI teachings and to prepare for the "War of Armageddon." Members of the FOI are required to participate in military drill and are afforded the opportunity to engage in judo training. The FOI is governed by a military system wherein the members are controlled by general orders similar to those issued by regular military organizations.

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1.

APPENDIX

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The records of the New York Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the certificate of incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, was filed on March 2, 1961.

The Spring, 1964, issue of "Freedomways" is self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City.

On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the original plan called for the publication to be openly Marxist, but that it was later decided it would not be avowedly a Marxist publication. Editorials are in the hands of a mixed group of Marxists and non-Marxists. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.

On May 25, 1961, another source advised that "Freedomways" was set up for the CPUSA by JAMES JACKSON, a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

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NY 105-8999

~~SECRET~~

1.

APPENDIX

LIBERATOR

1. A "Communist magazine."
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
Annual Report, House Report 2277, June 25, 1942,
p. 18).

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York

~~SECRET~~

JAN 20 1965

NYfile 105-8999
Bufile 100-399321

Title Malcolm K. Little

Character Internal Security-Muslim
Mosque Incorporated
Reference is made to the report of
dated and captioned as above

Special Agent
at New York.

61
67D

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions
of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to
your organization; it and its contents are not to be distributed
outside your agency.

11c

~~SECRET~~

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 3-4-64)

Date 2-3-65

To:

BU FILE # 100-399321

☒ Director

NY FILE # 105-8999

Att.: Domestic Intell.

☐ SAC

Title MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka
IS-MMI

☐ ASAC (H m)

☐ Supv.

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ IC

☐ CC

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-7-83 BY 6269 jml/est/ha

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign Reassign

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Recharge serials

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Return serials

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Send Serials

to SUBV. CONTROL

☐ Submit new charge

☐ Submit report by

☐ Type

Re NY report dated 1-20-65 captioned as above
and your r/s:

1) page 102, middle of page corrected to No

2) located on page 35

John F. Malone
Assist. Dir.

See reverse side

Office NYO

FBI

Date: 1/29/65

Transmitted the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441765)

FROM: SAC, MOBILE (105-600)(P)

SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.

IS-MMI

OO: NEW YORK

MALCOLM K. RILEY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-83 BY 8269 JAF/STC

By teletype 1/29/65, to the Bureau and New York, captioned Registrars of Voters, Dallas County, Ala., Voting Discrimination, CR - EL, BUfile 44-12831, information was set out that the Alabama Journal, a daily newspaper of Montgomery, Ala., carried an article concerning MALCOLM X on 1/28/65. The article reported that he was to be in Montgomery, Ala., 1/31/65, and might go to Selma, Ala., where it is noted racial demonstrations have been taking place for the past two weeks and further activity is expected, particularly 2/1/65.

On 1/29/65, [redacted] furnished a copy of the 1/22/65 issue of the Tuskegee Grams, a weekly publication of the Information Bureau, Tuskegee Institute, Ala. This publication under the heading, "Announcements" reported the appearance of MALCOLM X was scheduled for 2/3/65, at 8:00 p.m. in Logan Hall, sponsored by Institute Council Lecture Series, "Spectrum on Political Ideologies." [redacted] will attend this lecture and report on same.

- 3 - Bureau
2 - New York
2 - Mobile
(2 - 105-600)
(1 - 137-76)(MO 67-C)

JTB:gjk
(8)

100-399321

RECORDED
196 FEB 8 1965

Consolidation
Place 1cc in
100-399321
WHS

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-441765-112

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
FEB 12 1965 Charge

FEI WASH DC 0724

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 31 1965

TELETYPE

FEI CHICAGO

112\\\\\\ AM CST URGENT 1/31/65 EH

TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO \\100-33593\\ 1P

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, IS DASH MMI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-83 BY 1269 JAC/STG

RE CGTEL ONE TWENTY NINE, SIXTY FIVE.

b7D [REDACTED] ADVISED ONE THIRTY, LAST,
MALCOLM X LEAVING CHICAGO ELEVEN THIRTY AM, CST, ONE THIRTY
ONE, INSTANT, FOR NEW YORK VIA TWA.

b7D [REDACTED] STATED WHEN LEAVING STUDIO OF WEKE DASH TV, CHANNEL
SEVEN, ONE THIRTY, LAST, AFTER TAPING OF QUOTE KUPAS SHOW
ENQUOTE A GROUP OF TEN DASH FIFTEEN NOI OFFICERS FROM CHICAGO
ACCORDING TO MALCOLM ADVANCED TOWARD MALCOLM, HOWEVER CHICAGO
PD IMMEDIATELY DISPERSED GROUP. NO INCIDENT. NO POSITIVE
IDENTIFICATIONS ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] PER MALCOLM. RETURNING OF
MALCOLM TO HOTEL WITHOUT INCIDENT. CHICAGO WILL ADVISE BUREAU
AND NEW YORK OF ANY PERTINENT SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS THIS
REGARD.

LOCAL MILITARY ADVISED.

END

WA \\\\ HFL FOR RELAY

66 FEB 8 1965

TU\\S

FEB 8 1965

RELAYED TO Ny

FEI WASH DC 0724

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FEI CHICAGO

\742 PM CST URGENT 1-29-65 DHM

TO DIRECTOR \100-399321\ AND NEW YORK \105-8999\

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
FROM CHICAGO \100-33593\ DATE 12-19-13 BY 1269

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, IS DASH MMI, OO\ NEW YORK

RE LOS ANGELES TEL INSTANT, CAPTIONED QUOTE, ORGANIZATION
OF AFRO DASH AMERICAN UNITY, IS DASH MISC., UNQUOTE.

JANUARY TWENTY NINE, INSTANT, ISSUE CHICAGO QUOTE SUN TIMES
UNQUOTE STATED MALCOLM X WOULD APPEAR ON QUOTE KUP\S SHOW UNQUOTE,
LOCAL TV INTERVIEW PROGRAM, JANUARY THIRTY, NEXT.

ADVISED THIS
DATE MALCOLM X TO ARRIVE CHICAGO SIX TWELVE PM THIS DATE VIA TWA
FLIGHT NUMEER TWENTY SIX FROM LOS ANGELES AND WOULD STAY AT SHERMAN
HOUSE, CHICAGO. MALCOLM TO LEAVE CHICAGO SIX PM JANUARY THIRTY,
NEXT, AND DURING ENTIRE STAY IN CHICAGO WILL BE UNDER STRICT CHICAGO
PD GUARD

BUREAU AND NEW YORK WILL BE ADVISED OF ANY PERTINENT
DEVELOPMENTS THIS REGARD.

AM COPY TO LOS ANGELES FOR INFO.

END
OFFER 10 1965
WA FOR RELAY 1000Y

WA... BMS FOR RELAY

FEB 8 1965

RELAYED TO

FBI

Date: 2/1/65

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka
IS - MMI

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau are 8 copies of a LHM pertaining to MALCOLM X's plans to travel to England and France during February, 1965.

NYO will continue to follow subject's activities and attempt to obtain information on the mode of transportation to be taken by MALCOLM X on his trip to London, England and Paris, France.

The enclosed LHM is classified "Confidential" because of information set forth therein [REDACTED] the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in identification [REDACTED] and compromise [REDACTED] effectiveness.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-83 BY 8269 JAK/KH

1-CE [REDACTED] Bureau (Encls. 8)

1-AM [REDACTED] (1-Legat London)

1-AM [REDACTED] (1-Legat Paris)

1-S [REDACTED] New York

1-AS [REDACTED] (1-100-153308) (OAAU)

1-AS [REDACTED] (1-100-152759) (MMI)

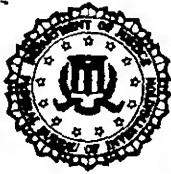
REC 9 100-399321-2

FEB 2

217 Approved: [REDACTED]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent [REDACTED]



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
February 1, 1965

[REDACTED]

Re: Malcolm K. Little
Internal Security -
Muslim Mosque Incorporated

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-83 BY 8269 JAC/KAT
b7D

The characterizations of
the Muslim Mosque
Incorporated and the
Organization of Afro-
American Unity are
attached hereto.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on [REDACTED]

that at an Organization of Afro-American
Unity meeting held on January 31, 1965, Malcolm
X stated that he plans to leave for London,
England on February 5, 1965, and remain in London,
England, until February 8, 1965. From London,
England, he plans to travel to Paris, France, and
remain in Paris, France, until February 11, 1965.

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is
the property of the FBI and is loaned to your
agency; it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 2/16/73

DECLASSIFIED BY 6855
ON 5/12/77 DmL/GSK

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-399327-218

ENCLOSURE

[REDACTED]

Re: Malcolm K. Little

b7D

[REDACTED] advised on [REDACTED] that Malcolm X stated that while in London, England, he will speak with West Indians about racial discrimination in the United States.

The "New York Amsterdam News", a Negro weekly newspaper, published in New York City, dated January 30, 1965, contained an article which stated that "Malcolm is to spend February 6, 7 and 8 in Europe, speaking in London and Paris. The England appearance is to be sponsored by the Council of African Organizations. In France, the sponsor is the Africans and Afro-Americans.

"Brother Reubin, an associate of Malcolm X, made the announcement. He described the European sponsors as 'African Students Organizations'".

On January 24, 1965, over radio station WINS, Jack Anderson, broadcasting for Drew Pearson, made the following comment:

"The Federal Bureau of Investigation; Malcolm X, the American Black Nationalist Leader, has been secretly contacting African Governments to strengthen the ties between African and American Negroes. He is also expected to be a star attraction at the coming Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers, where he likely will join in the propaganda attacks on his own Government for its racial discrimination. Ironically some of the most strident anti-American voices will speak for countries that mistreat their own minorities."

APPENDIX

1.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principals." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

A second confidential source advised on October 20, 1964, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which is also headed by MALCOLM X [REDACTED]

1.

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes of education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

On August 19, 1964, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU are located in MMI headquarters, Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 7th Avenue, New York City.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REC-9
(SC) 100-399321

218

1 - Liaison
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

Date: February 8, 1965

To: Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

12-19-83
Classified by 8269 jef/ak/te
Declassify on: OADR

Subject: MALCOLM K. LITTLE
INTERNAL SECURITY - HUSSEIN MOSQUE, INCORPORATED

Reference is made to previous correspondence concerning the captioned individual.

Information has been received that Malcolm Little plans to travel to England and France during the early part of February. He will reportedly depart this country on February 8, 1965, and will return about February 11, 1965. In this connection, there is enclosed one copy of a memorandum dated February 1, 1965, at New York, New York, which contains available information of the subject's contemplated travel.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S)

Classified
100-399321
5-16-77

[redacted]

Enclosure

1 - Director (Enclosure)
Central Intelligence Agency
Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

BY COURIER SVC
90 FEB - E
COMM/FBI
DECLASSIFIED ON 5/12/87

1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley (Enclosure)
Assistant Attorney General

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Gandy _____

1 - Mr. John Bear (Enclosure)
Acting Assistant Attorney General
2 - London (100-3313) (Enclosures - 2) (See note page two)
2 - Paris (Enclosures - 2) (See note page two)
2 - New York (105-8999) (See note page two)
1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

FEB 9 1965

ssha (21)
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

W682 104/447
W47
CONFIDENTIAL

detained
[redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

- 1 - Chief, U. S. Secret Service (Enclosure)
- 1 - Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (Enclosure)
Department of the Army
- Attention: Director of Security
- 1 - Director of Naval Intelligence (Enclosure)
- 1 - Office of Special Investigations (Enclosure)
Air Force

Attention: Chief, Counterintelligence Division

b1
c
b1
New York keep the Bureau immediately advised of further information concerning the subject's travel plans.

NOTE:

New York has advised that subject will leave New York on 2/5/65 and go to London where he will remain until 2/8/65. He will then go to Paris prior to returning home about 2/11/65. New York is following for additional information.

Letter classified "Confidential" since it contains information from informants which, if revealed, could jeopardize their future effectiveness.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 31 1965

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI WASH DC 0724

FBI CHICAGO

1110 PM CST URGENT 1-31-65 AAA

TO DIRECTOR \100-3999321\ AND NEW YORK \105-8999\

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO \100-33593\

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-83 BY 8269 JED/STY

SUBJECT MALCOLM K. LITTLE, IS DASH MI.

RE CG TEL JANUARY TWENTY NINE, LAST.

b7D [REDACTED] ADVISED THIS DATE SUBJECT DEPARTED O'HARE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, CHICAGO ELEVEN THIRTY AM THIS DATE VIA TWA FLIGHT ONE THREE ZERO ARRIVING KENNEDY INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT ONE ELEVEN PM EST.

SUBJECT TRAVELLING UNDER NAME SHABAZZ.

END

WA FOR RELAY TO NEW YORK

WA... \ \ \ NHH FBI WASH DC RELAY

AT
66 FEB 10 1965
XEROX P.O.R.B.

FEB 3, 1965

RELAYED TO 14

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2/3/65

CODE

CABLEGRAM

URGENT

1
1
1

TO LEGAT LONDON

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-389321)

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, INTERNAL SECURITY - RMI

ON FEBRUARY TWO, ONE NINE SIX FIVE, [REDACTED]

12-19-83
Classified by 8269 jae/mch/te
Declassify on: OADR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

ADVISED THAT SUBJECT HAS RESERVATION FOR FIRST-CLASS TRAVEL
TO LONDON ABOARD FLIGHT SEVEN HUNDRED LEAVING NEW YORK AT
EIGHT P.M. ON FEBRUARY FOUR, ONE NINE SIX FIVE, AND ARRIVING
LONDON, ENGLAND, SEVEN THIRTY-FIVE A.M. FOLLOWING DAY. LITTLE
IS TRAVELING UNDER THE NAME M. SHARAZZ.

[REDACTED]

FEB 4 1965

cc Foreign Liaison Unit (Route Through Review)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIA CABLEGRAM

FEB 3 1965

10:33PM RL

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

FEB 9 1965

ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

CABLEGRAM TO LONDON
RE: MALCOLM K. LITTLE
100-398321

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b1
[REDACTED] (c)

NOTE:

b1
[REDACTED] (c)

APR 3 1 58 PM '62

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NP	513
ENC.	RTS
CK	jld
APPRO	[Signature]
TYPED	
LOCCED BY	

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

45

UNCLASSIFIED

Action

EUR

FJJ537WSB445

Info

PP RUEHC

DE RUFJCC 395 09/1600Z

ZNR

P 091555Z ZNH

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO RUDSC/AMEMBASSY LONDON

STATE GRNC

BT

UNCLAS ACTION: SECSTATE 4506 PRIORITY; INFO: LONDON 797
PRIORITY FROM PARIS NINTH

L

H

P

USIA

INR

CIA

NSA

SY

SCA

PPT

SCS

FBI

RMR

AMERICAN NEGRO NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X TODAY REFUSED PERMISSION ENTER FRANCE ON GROUNDS HIS PRESENCE UNDESIRABLE VIEW HIS BACKGROUND AND NATURE HIS VISIT. HE ARRIVED ONLY FROM LONDON 0955 AND WAS TO HAVE GIVEN AIRPORT PRESS CONFERENCE AND SPEECH TONIGHT TO NEGRO STUDENTS PARIS. HE LEFT ONLY FOR LONDON ON 1210 PLANE WITHOUT HAVING COMMUNICATED WITH PRESS OR WITH AFRO-AMERICAN GROUP WHICH HAD COME TO AIRPORT TO MEET HIM. BOHLEN

BT

CFN 4506 797 0955 1210

07571
FEB 9 AM 11 05

100-399321-
NOT RECORDED

FEB 10 1965

NAT. INT. SEC.

INT. SECURITY

UNCLASSIFIED

REPRODUCTION FROM THIS CO
PROHIBITED UNLESS UNCLASS

56 FEB 16 1965

F B I

Date: 2/2/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-8999)
 SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka
 IS - MMI

6
ENCL
9-1

Re NY airtel and LHM to Bureau dated
 2/1/65.

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau are 8
 copies of a LHM pertaining to subject's plans to
 travel to England on 2/4/65.

WD
67C
 [redacted] furnished
 subject's flight plans to London, England to
 SA [redacted]

NY will continue to follow subject's
 activities and will observe subject's departure
 from JFK International Airport on 2/4/65.

H

3-Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)
 (1-Legat London)
 (1-Legat Paris)

3-New York
 (1-100-153308) (OAAU)
 (1-100-152759) (MMI)

:mxm

REC-16

100-399321-221

FEB 8 1965

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12-19-83 BY 1269 JET

ENCLOSURE

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

FEB 9 1965



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

February 2, 1965

Re: Malcolm K. Little
Internal Security -
Muslim Mosque Incorporated

On February 2, 1965, [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED] advised that
Little on January 28, 1965, telephoned for a one
way first class reservation to London, England,
aboard TWA flight 700 leaving JFK International
Airport at 8:00 PM on February 4, 1965, and to
arrive in London, England at 7:35 AM the following
day.

Little is traveling under the name M. Shabazz.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-9-83 BY 8269 JHE/STC/ty

This document contains neither recommendations
nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents
are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-399321-221

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM : *J. Hu* SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka
IS-MMI

DATE: 2/4/65

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Re CIA letter to Bureau, 12/23/64 re captioned
matter. (S)u

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 6 copies of
a LHM pertaining to MALCOLM X's [redacted]

CIA is the source of information described
as another government agency in attached LHM. (S)u

Attached LHM is classified "Secret" in view of
the fact that CIA communication which contained information
set out in LHM was so classified. (S)u

Encl 5
CC TO: USA
REQ. REC'D 1-23-74
JAN 31 1974
ANS.
BY: PFD/AL

12-19-83
Classified by 8269 jrc/kwb/ty
Declassify on: OADR
per CIA letter 11/26/80
190-5009-15

- 4-Bureau (Encls. 6) (RM)
(1-100-441765) (MMI)
1-New York (100-152759) (MMI)
1-New York (100-153308) (OAAU)
1-New York

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S)
DATE 1/3/65

FEB 8 1965

Copy to [redacted] State, AAG Yeagley
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 2/12/65
by [redacted]

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

69 FEB 15 1965

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
February 4, 1965

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Malcolm K. Little
Internal Security-Muslim Mosque Incorporated

Another government agency which conducts
intelligence investigations advised on December 23, 1964
that Malcolm Little

b1,
b3

[REDACTED]

(S) [REDACTED] Malcolm Little described
as hypocritical all efforts to promote equality of status
for Negroes in the United States, or to give "aggrieved"
Negroes access to the courts. According to Little, these
actions were designed to give a false sense of progress and were
in any case inoperative. Little stated that the chief
exponent of this deceptive strategy was the late President
John F. Kennedy and nothing better was to be expected from
President Lyndon B. Johnson. Little also stated that the
best thing would be the election of Senator Barry Goldwater
as President, since there was a possibility that real progress
might emerge from the chaos that would be inevitable if he
was elected. Little further stated that he favored the use
of the Negro problem as an election weapon. He said white
"liberals" and Negro moderates such as Martin Luther King
(leader of the Southern Christian Conference), who opposed this
course were either useless or positively harmful. (S)

This document contains neither recommendations
nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).
It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your
agency.

~~SECRET~~

12-19-83 8269 jae/web/ky
cc: OADR
per CIA letter 11/26/80
190-5009-15

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

ENCLOSURE

100-275241-222

~~SECRET~~

Malcolm K. Little

Little did not identify himself with individuals or groups that advocated violence, or take part in it themselves, however, he spoke charitably of the violence used by younger Negroes in response to "intolerable police brutality." According to Little, these Negroes generally do not understand the issues intellectually, but they feel the problems so acutely that no form of self-expression other than violence is possible for them. (S) u

b1, b3 [REDACTED] S Little expressed a strong admiration for the Mau-Mau terrorist activities in Kenya before that nation became independent. He contrasted the bold use of violence of Africans in Kenya with the feebleness of the Africans in South Africa. His belief in the use of violence arose from his despair over the failure or lack of "human dignity" of the 22,000,000 Negroes in the United States. (S)

Concerning his relations with the Black Muslims, Little limited himself to saying that he no longer belongs to the group (Nation of Islam) and had finally lost his former admiration for, and belief in, the infallibility of their leader (Elijah Muhammad, National Leader of the Nation of Islam). Little appeared to believe that the chief value of the Black Muslim concept was in helping to distinguish the Negroes from the Christian Community, and further in disposing of the old traditions of Christian resignation to suffering in humble status. He regarded Islam as a binding force among the Africans. He was reluctant to admit that the Islamic world might be capable of using religious brotherhood as a political lever, for example, against Israel. Little stated that friendship with "Liberals" was treachery to the Negro cause, since it gave falsely comforting impressions that the situation was improving. Until recently, according to Little, he held that the only possible attitude for him and for those like him to take, was to hate all whites without distinction. Recently, stated Little, he decided that this attitude would not do, but gave no indication of the kind of whites he is now prepared to tolerate. (S) u

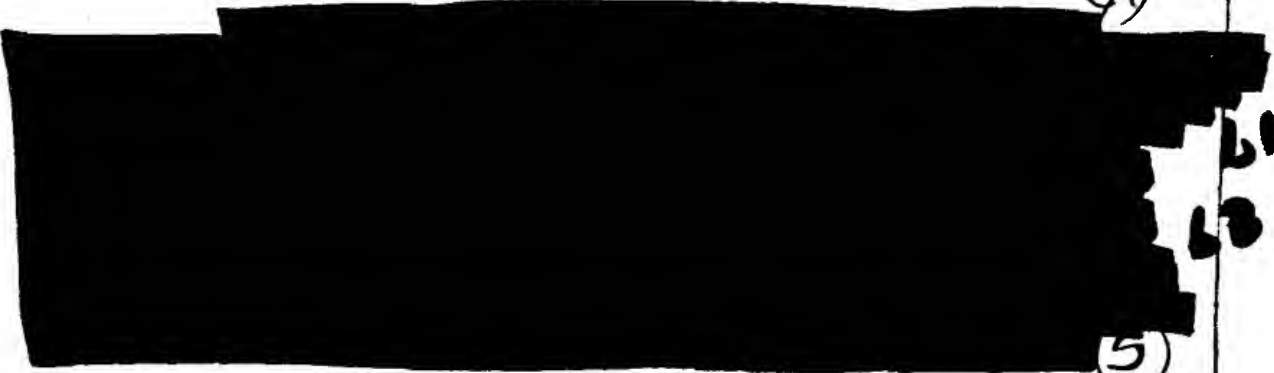
~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Malcolm K. Little

Little rejected the Rastafarian Movement, that is the removal to Africa of the Negroes now in the United States. Little also rejected the idea of a partition of the United States into white and Negro regions. (S)u

Little failed to offer any description of the kind of society that he would like to see in the United States should his policies be put into effect. He said that his purpose in coming to Africa was to explain himself to African leaders and to seek their support; but he nevertheless insisted that the Negroes in the United States have become completely different from the Africans in Africa and accordingly must be judged in isolation. (S)u



Little indicated that the Communists in South Africa were the only group who were positively helpful to the South African Negroes. (S)u

The impression Malcolm Little left might at best be described as an anarchist who cannot or will not look beyond the struggle and chaos that he desires and expects. (S)u

A characterization of the Nation of Islam is attached hereto and all sources therein have furnished reliable information in the past.

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

Malcolm K. Little

1.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly referred to as the Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam," (NOI) and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 8, 1964, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the NOI; Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960, MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD'S organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD'S teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

SECRET

SECRET

Malcolm K. Little

2.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly
referred to as the Muslim
Cult of Islam, also known as
Muhammad's Temples of Islam

On May 7, 1964, a third source advised Muhammad had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

SECRET

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 3 1965

TELETYPE

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

FBI NEW YORK

1245 PM URGENT 2-3-65 JLW

TO DIRECTOR /1/ 100-399321 ATLANTA AND MOBILE
FROM NEW YORK 105-8999 1P

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, AKA, IS - MMI.

RE NEW YORK AIRTEL, JAN. TWENTYEIGHT, SIXTYFIVE.

SUBJ, AS "MR. MALCOLM X", DEPARTED JFK AIRPORT, NYC, ABOARD DELTA
FLIGHT NINE SEVEN THREE AT EIGHT FORTY TWO AM, TWO THREE SIXTYFIVE.
WILL ARRIVE ATLANTA, GA, TWELVE TEN PM FOR CONNECTING DELTA FLIGHT
FOUR FOUR FIVE TO MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA. WILL ARRIVE MONTGOMERY AT TWELVE
NOON, MONTGOMERY TIME, TWO THREE SIXTYFIVE.

SUBJ HAS RESERVATIONS ON DELTA FLIGHT SIX ONE FOUR LEAVING MONT-
GOMERY NINE TEN AM, TWO FOUR SIXTYFIVE, ARRIVE ATLANTA ELEVEN FIFTYFIVE
AM. WILL LEAVE ATLANTA ABOARD DELTA FLIGHT EIGHT TWO TWO, ARRIVE NYC
ONE THIRTY SEVEN PM, TWO FOUR SIXTYFIVE.

MOBILE NOTE CHANGE IN FLIGHTS AND TIMES.

FOR INFO ATLANTA, SUBJ ENROUTE TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, TUSKEGEE, ALA.
FOR SPEECH ON TWO THREE SIXTYFIVE. BE ALERT TO FACT SUBJ WILL PASS
THROUGH ATLANTA.

REC-56

SUBJ DUE TO LEAVE NYC FOR ENGLAND ABOARD TWA FLIGHT SEVEN ZERO

ZERO, EIGHT PM, TWO FOUR, SIXTYFIVE.

END

WA SML

FBI WASH D C

FEB 5 1965

FEB 3

66 FEB 10 1965

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 2/1/65

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Ryan
- 1 - Mr. Coakley

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

SUBJECT: AFRO-AMERICAN BROADCASTING AND RECORDING COMPANY
DETROIT, MICHIGAN
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-83 BY 8869 JHE/STG

By airtel and memorandum both dated 1/29/65 Detroit advised that the captioned organization plans to sponsor the "1st Annual Dignity Projection and Scholarship Award Ceremony" on 2/14/65 at the Henry and Edsel Ford Auditorium in Detroit. At this ceremony it is planned to present awards to Sidney Poitier, the well-known Negro actor; Marian Anderson, the well-known Negro singer; Jackie Gleason; the J. L. Hudson Company, Chrysler Corporation, Ford Motor Company, and Detroit Radio Station WXYZ for their efforts in promoting integration in employment. It has been reported that Malcolm Little, the former number two man in the Nation of Islam (NOI), who since his defection from the NOI has formed his own hate organization, the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, will be the guest speaker. Little is extremely well-known for the hateful and violent statements he has made in urging Negroes to use all methods at their disposal to gain their rights in this country.

The captioned organization was formed by Milton R. Henry, a Negro attorney in Detroit, in April, 1964. Henry's name is included in the Security Index based on the extreme sentiments he has put forth in advocating that Negroes are justified in using guerrilla warfare tactics in order to secure their rights in this country. Henry was also affiliated with communist fronts in the Detroit area in the 1940's.

Detroit requests authority to furnish public source data regarding Malcolm Little and Milton R. Henry to the following establishments at Detroit:

67D



100-39932
NOT RECORDED
20 FEB 8 1965
FEB 8 1965

DO:mlf (3)

CONTINUED - OVER

FEB 10 1965

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: AFRO-AMERICAN BROADCASTING AND RECORDING COMPANY
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

b7D

No contacts are contemplated with Marian Anderson,
Jackie Gleason or Sidney Poitier.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached airtel authorizing Detroit to furnish
public source information to the above-mentioned established sources
on a strictly confidential basis be approved. Detroit is being
instructed to follow this matter closely and effect coverage on this
affair so that the Bureau will be kept fully informed.

gpc

CH 4/4
109

ds
Q

V.

FBI

Date: 2/2/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

by AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442235)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-153308)
SUBJECT: ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY
IS - MISC.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau and Chicago are six and one copies, respectively, of a LHM concerning an OAAU public rally in NYC on 1/31/65, at which MALCOLM X was the featured speaker.

An information copy is being furnished to Chicago in view of MALCOLM X's implication that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is in some way affiliated with the KKK. This remark by MALCOLM X may be indicative of his next line of attack on MUHAMMAD and the NOI.

The sources in this LHM are:

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 6) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (100-35636) (NOI) (Encl. 1) (Info.) (RM)
- 1 - New York [redacted]
- 1 - New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM X) (43)
- 1 - New York (157-892) (42)
- 1 - New York

ABF:kpm
(9)

NOT RECORDED
105 FEB 11 1965

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/27/80 BY SP-4

FEB 13 1965

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

NY 100-153308

This LHM is not classified "~~Conf~~idential" since the news release was public and the meeting itself was open to the public.

b7D [REDACTED] also advised that during his speech at this rally MALCOLM X outlined his future travel plans which are:

2/3/65	Travel to Tuskegee Institute, Tuskege, Ala. for a speech
2/4/65	Return to NYC
2/5/65	Travel to London, England; remain until 2/8/65
2/8/65	Travel to Paris, France; remain until 2/11/65.

Information on MALCOLM X's travels have been furnished to the Bureau and interested offices by separate communication under his caption.

The next scheduled OAAU public rally is on Sunday, 2/21/65.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

February 2, 1965

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Organization of Afro-American Unity
Internal Security - Miscellaneous

Characterizations of the Organization of
Afro-American Unity (OAAU), Muslim Mosque,
Incorporated (MMI) and the Nation of Islam
(NOI) are attached hereto [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
OAAU news release dated January 27, 1965, captioned
"Malcolm X Predicts Longest Hottest and Bloodiest Summer
of the Black Revolution." This news release read in part
as follows:

"Malcolm X, chairman of the OAAU will address
the public Sunday, January 31 at 8:00 p.m. at the Audubon
Ballroom at 166th Street and Broadway. The title of his
lecture is Ballots or Bullets. Malcolm will contend that the
present struggle for voters registration rights by the
Afro-American will lead to the longest, hottest and
bloodiest summer in the current freedom struggle."

b7D [REDACTED] advised
that the OAAU held a public rally on January 31, 1965, from
8:15 p.m. to 10:50 p.m., at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway
and 166th Street, New York City. There were approximately
550 persons in attendance.

This document contains neither recommendations nor
conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is
the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned
to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed
outside your agency.

Comp # 62,211
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/27/80 BY [signature]

00-399321-
ENCLOSURE
ENCLOSURE

Organization of Afro-American Unity
Internal Security - Miscellaneous

The meeting was opened by MMI Executive Secretary James 67X Warden, who then introduced OAAU chairman and MMI leader Malcolm X Little as the featured speaker. Malcolm X spoke on the subject of "Ballots or Bullets".

b7D According to [REDACTED] Malcolm X made the following remarks:

Malcolm X spoke at length on the civil rights movement in the United States. He outlined the history of the rights struggle by stating that promises were made to the Negro in 1963 and all "we" got was the murder of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) leader Medgar Evers and of President John F. Kennedy. In 1964 more promises were made to the Negro and all "we" got was the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi and of a Negro educator in Georgia.

b7D Malcolm X stated that so far in 1965 the Mississippi Freedom Democrat Party has been rebuffed in their effort to unseat the illegally elected United States Congressmen from Mississippi and Negroes are being denied their right to register to vote in Alabama. Malcolm X stated that unless something is done for Negro voter registration "we" must take "drastic steps", and he predicted the "longest, hottest, bloodiest summer ever". He further stated that the Negro youth of today will not submit to these wrongs but will "take action", and he claimed that the present mood of the Negro is away from non-violence.

[REDACTED] advised that Malcolm X was extremely careful in making the above remarks and made absolutely no mention of possible future violence in the civil rights field by himself or anyone else, nor did he encourage any specific action.

Organization of Afro-American Unity
Internal Security - Miscellaneous

67D According to [REDACTED] Malcolm X stated that the Negro masses have been deserted by the white liberals and that the Negro must look elsewhere for allies. He suggested that it was only natural to look to Africa and indicated that the Africans are ready and willing to assist the American Negro. He also referred to the Chinese Communists as "800 million dark people" who are not afraid of the United States and are willing to help the American Negro.

Malcolm X also remarked that recently he has purposely refrained from commenting about Elijah Muhammad and the NOI, but he plans to expose Muhammad's affiliation with the Ku Klux Klan.

Organization of Afro-American Unity
Internal Security - Miscellaneous

1.

APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principals." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

A second confidential source advised on October 20, 1964, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which is also headed by MALCOLM X.

Organization of Afro-American Unity
Internal Security - Miscellaneous

1.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly
referred to as the Muslim
Cult of Islam, also known as
Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam," (NOI) and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 8, 1964, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the NOI; Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960, MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD'S organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD'S teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

Organization of Afro-American Unity
Internal Security - Miscellaneous

2.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly
referred to as the Muslim
Cult of Islam, also known as
Muhammad's Temples of Islam

On May 7, 1964, a third source advised Muhammad had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

Organization of Afro-American Unity
Internal Security - Miscellaneous

1.

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes of education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

On August 19, 1964, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU are located in MMI headquarters, Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 7th Avenue, New York City.

F B I

Date: 2/3/65

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442784)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-41297)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

IS - MISCELLANEOUS

Classified by 8269 JED/web-ky
Declassify on: OADR

Re Chicago airtel and letterhead memorandum to Bureau,
cc's to Boston, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia and
San Francisco dated 1/28/65.

⑥ - Bureau (RM)

(1 - 25-330971) (NATION OF ISLAM)

(2 - 100-399321) (MALCOLM X LITTLE)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

1 - New York (Info) (RM)

1 - 105-8999 (MALCOLM LITTLE)

8 - Chicago

(1 - 100-35635) (NOI)

100-399321-
NOT RECORDED
98 FEB 9 1965

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by 8/855
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification indefinite
5/2/77 bmy/65K

CARBON COPY

FEB 12 1965

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP(S) OF

DATE

100-399321

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CG 100-41297

b1

(c)
In this regard the following information as obtained
from [REDACTED] who is close to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, is set forth;

b7D

b7c

(u)

b7c

(u)

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(1), (b)(7)(C) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-399321-Not Recorded page 3

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 4 1965

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

FBI NEW YORK

11-36 PM

URGENT 2-4-65

DAE

TO DIRECTOR -15- 100-399321

FROM NEW YORK 105-8999

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, AKA IS-MMI.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-83 BY 8869 jef/mj

SUBJ ARRIVED JFK INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT NY VIA DELTA AIRLINES
FLIGHT EIGHT ONE SIX SEVEN FORTY THREE PM TWO FOUR SIXTY FIVE FROM
MONTGOMERY, ALA. VIA ATLANTA GA. HE WAS DRIVEN TO HIS RESIDENCE ARRIVING
EIGHT ZERO SEVEN PM TWO FOUR SIXTY FIVE. SUBJ FAILED TO CANCEL
RESERVATION ON TWA FLIGHT SEVEN HUNDRED WHICH LEFT JFK INTERNATIONAL AIR
NY EIGHT PM TWO FOUR SIXTY FIVE FOR LONDON, ENGLAND. NO RECORD
OF RESERVATION FOR SUBJ TWO FIVE SIXTY FIVE FOR LONDON AT THIS TIME.
NO INCIDENT OR PRESS CONFERENCE HELD.

END

HFL

FBI WASH DC

Call to London

FEB 2

2 24 PM '65

REC-25

100-399321-224

FEB 8 1965

FEB 11 1965

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: JH
FROM: JH

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

DATE: 2/9/65

SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

SUBJECT:

MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka
IS-MMI

MALCOLM X was one of several guests on the television program "Hot Line" which was held on 2/2/65, at NYC. "Hot Line" is a live panel type program where the guests answer questions called in by the viewing public. It was shown over WPIX-TV, channel 11, NYC, at 9:30 p.m. This program is moderated by television personality DAVID SUSSKIND.

This program was taped by the NYO. MALCOLM X made his usual general statements about the racial problems in NY and throughout the US whenever the opportunity arose during the program.

No pertinent information was obtained from monitoring this program, therefore, no LHM is being prepared for dissemination.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-83 BY 8269 JH/EC/ky

2- Bureau (RM)
1- New York

JCS:mmm
(3)



FEB 7 1965

REC-113

100-399321-225

FEB 10 1965

67C

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 5 1965

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

FBI NEW YORK

10-37PM EST URGENT 2-5-65 MFR

TO DIRECTOR, FBI --14--/100-399321/

FROM NEW YORK /105-8999/

MALCOLM K. ^QLITTLE AKA IS DASH MMI

RE NY TELETYPE DATED TWO DASH DIVE DASH SIXTYFIVE.

SUBJECT DEPARTED JFK INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT NY VIA TWA FLT 700
UT EIGHT DASH ELEVEN PM TWO DASH FIVE DASH SIXTYFIVE FOR LONDON,
ENGLAND. ARRIVING LONDON ELEVEN DASH FIFTEEN PM LONDON TIME.
SUBJECT PURCHASED TICKET FOR LONDON, PARIS, GENEVA AND RETURN
TO NEW YORK. FLIGHTS TO PARIS, GENEVA AND RETURN TO NY "OPEN DATES".
VIA TWA NO INCIDENTS OR PRESS CONFERENCE HELD.

END

JRL

FBI WASH DC

REC-118

100-399321-226

6 FEB 9 1965

EX-103

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-83 BY 8269 JPP/NEW/TCY

1-XEROX 808
64 FEB 12 1965
Called 9 AM 2-6-65 E
m.7 lsd

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 5 1965

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI NEW YORK

1205PM URGENT 2-5-65 KRG

TO DIRECTOR /100-399321/

FROM NEW YORK /105-8999/ #3

MALCOLM K. LITTLE AKA, SM-MMI.

RE NEW YORK AIRTEL AND LHM DATED FEBRUARY TWO SIXTY FIVE AND
TELETYPE DATED FEBRUARY FOUR, SIXTY FIVE.

SUBJECT UNDER NAME M. SHABAZZ MADE RESERVATIONS FOR ECONOMY
CLASS TWA AIRLINES FLIGHT SEVEN HUNDRED FOR LONDON, ENGLAND
DEPARTING JOHN F. KENNEDY INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, EIGHT P.M.
FEBRUARY, FIFTH, SIXTY FIVE.

NEW YORK OFFICE WILL COVER DEPARTURE.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-83 BY 8269 jef

SND

324

FBI WASH DC

REC 61

100-399321-227

FEB 9 1965

Teletype - London
2/5/65
W H F/cas
1-NY

FEB 9 1965

9 11

5-487

2/5/65

CODE

CABLEGRAM

URGENT

TO: LEGAT, LONDON

FROM: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321) - 227

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, INTERNAL SECURITY - MUSLIM
MOSQUE, INCORPORATED.

REBUCA FEBRUARY THREE, LAST, AND BULET FEBRUARY
FOUR, LAST.

BY TELETYPE THIS DATE NEW YORK ADVISED THAT SUBJECT
DID NOT DEPART ON FEBRUARY FOUR, LAST, AS PLANNED BUT
WOULD LEAVE NEW YORK FOR LONDON AT NIGHT P.M., FEBRUARY
FIVE, INSTANT. HE HAS RESERVATIONS UNDER THE NAME
M. SHARAKE FOR ECONOMY CLASS, TRANS WORLD AIRLINES,
FLIGHT SEVEN ZERO ZERO, FOR LONDON DEPARTING JOHN F.
KENNEDY INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT.

HANDLE IN ACCORDANCE WITH PRIOR INSTRUCTIONS.

COPY MAILED NEW YORK.

1 - New York (100-399321)

WHF:cad
(7)

NOTE:

Subject on Security Index. He is leader of the
Muslim Mosque, Inc., and the Organization of Afro-American
Unity. Information previously received of contemplated
travel by Little to Europe. London advised by recab and
told to alert appropriate sources for travel and activities

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (route through for review)

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-83 BY 10161 JEP/SPC/STP

4 FEB 12 1965

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☒

VIA CABLEGRAM

FEB 5 1965

6:2 PM Pen JAL

NR. 514
ENC. 12
CK. m/r
TY. 1
LOC. 1

del/room

JEP

H/4